114 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he
174 then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of
565 divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all
586 even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba, and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana [567] (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." Before the war the government linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves. As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement loses its force.

114 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of
174 earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes.
565 Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that,
582 simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 Of the four common characteristics, the mention of
174 patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding.
565 My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).
[591]

1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure, superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

595 /168 cont./ In view of the fact that according to Moslem law the conclusion of a second marriage is just as simple as the first, there must be other reasons why so few polygamous men were registered in this region. Such a reason is, in the first place, the opposition of the first wife.

[581] [558] One of the worst things that can happen to a woman is that her husband takes a second wife. One of the wishes for a newly married couple is the hope that they will grow old together. It was said of a childless old couple who had been together all their lives that this was proof that they were happy together, and it was regarded as a cause for rejoicing and an example for the younger generation. In the "little [585] games" /169/ that take place during the wedding festival, the woman must win. This reflects the wish that later she [593] will also have the upper hand in her relationship with her husband. And in answer to the question what this referred to mostly, it was stated that one thought of the provision of the necessities for daily meals and the taking of a second wife.

The reaction of the first wife is very violent. She declared that she would rather be cast out than suffer a co-wife (maru) by her side. She leaves the house without the knowledge of her husband -- which under normal circumstances would weigh heavily against her -- and returns to her parents, preferably with her children. In such a case there is no intention of leaving the man permanently. A statement by one of these women leaves no room for doubt about that. When she heard that her husband had contracted a second marriage, she did not leave for the distant kampong of her parents until she had made the vow: "If I come back here, I shall sacrifice a hen to you (ancestors)." In such a case it is possible for the woman to return only if her husband comes to implore her to do so. Her desire to come back prevailed. Sometimes, especially if the second marriage comes about through silariang, her negative attitude is successful. In one [586] case the man went to visit his second wife less and less. The

595 /169 cont./ latter, after a certain period of time had elapsed, asked for a divorce on the grounds that she was no longer being supported by him. In another case, the second wife escaped with another man (1). But sometimes the man

[586]

[684]

1. Officially this is called adultery, and the man should behave as though he were siri'. In reality he agreed to the divorce nor did he make an attempt at stabbing; nor do his relatives expect him to take the initiative which might lead to her being sentenced by the judge for adultery.

chooses the second /wife/.

595 578 In the majority of cases, however, the first wife accepts the new state of affairs. But her relationship with her rival remains notoriously bad. Abuse, hateful remarks about the stupidity, the low blood, or about certain physical characteristics of the other woman, are common expressions of her feelings. These she airs more to her female housemates, however, than to her spouse. Older women teach her that the latter is inadvisable. In one of the old lontar of the Prince of Goa there occurs the following rule which aptly characterizes the conditions /170/: "This is the rule concerning murder. If we murder our co-wife, no matter where, and if we tell this to the people who come running to the scene, saying, 'I have killed my co-wife,' then there will be no revenge taken upon us." (1)

[682 672]

1. This translation was saved as part of the prewar manuscript. The lontar from

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;
[589] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should
[581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

● [586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will become apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse
581 only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For
833 a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

[155] With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those
[156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

582 /200 cont./ child marriage this means merely that a child marriage does not necessarily have any particularly bad consequences.

Refusal of Sexual Union in Marriage

586 We have only spoken above of a marriage where the prescribed Moslem rite has taken place. In the same way, we shall now mean by divorce the separation of the marriage partners according to the rules of Moslem dogma. However, only a certain aspect of the Makassarese ideas concerning these subjects is reproduced by this.

585 At the wedding feast, the elders concentrate their efforts upon the bringing about of sexual union between man and wife. Not until this has taken place, is it really believed to have been brought about.

593 833 After some time it appears that in a number of these marriages the partners nonetheless are not "good," that is to say, that they do not have sexual intercourse. In the present-day stage of observation, however, this comes to light only if they do not live together for extended periods, and avoid each other. This state of affairs may last until the death of one of them. Only in a few cases, generally if one of the two [586] wants to remarry, does divorce according /201/ to Moslem law take place. This is not much more than a formality which legalizes an already existing situation. The "being good" of man and wife constitutes the center of Makassarese married life. The difficulties seem to lie there.

833 Only after the normal festivities have been concluded can it become apparent whether the goal has been reached or not. The pabadjikang ritual in itself provides no guarantee that sexual intercourse of man and wife has actually occurred. It is possible that the young man or woman goes through the entire wedding festival in the customary fashion, that is, more or less tacitly, but continues to refuse the sex act and

833 /201 cont./ thus causes the entire purpose of the marriage to run awry. In such cases it is said of the man that he refuses sexual contact with his wife (tena naero' ri bainenna; literally, "he does not want his wife"); such a refusal may just as well emanate from the wife.

[584] Sometimes it is clear that someone does not desire contact with his spouse because he himself has made another choice and now still wants to force his kinsmen to permit him to marry her (1). In other cases a bride or bridegroom declares

[586]

1. In a case which took place in Macassar in which a young man refused sexual intercourse with his wife because he had his mind set upon another girl, the marriage was dissolved after more than three years. At that time his father consented to his disposing of his wife. Shortly thereafter he had to marry a second wife, just as little by his own choice as the first one. He led a normal married life with this second wife. She presented him with two children and died a few years afterwards. Only then did he marry the woman whom he had chosen eight years earlier.

[587]

that the appearance of the marriage partner does not please him (or her). But in still other cases, not a single reason can be detected.

Sometimes it is believed in such cases that the individual who refuses has been affected by a spell emanating from

593 /203 cont./ 1. That is to say, then she will soon die.' For when a corpse is placed upon the bier made of bamboo, the bier creaks.
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833
[761]

does he feel shame because she refuses him. Her kinsmen feel a little embarassed (siri' siri') because they brought about the marriage and therefore also bear responsibility for her refusal, so they are extremely friendly toward the young man.

586 The belief that the performance of ritual can cause a man or wife to give up his (her) refusal to have sexual intercourse entails that one waits for a long time before officially dissolving the contracted marriage. This is usually done with the mutual consent of the older people. Only when the latter have given up hope, after at least a year has elapsed, that the marriage could still become "good," is one of the two spouses permitted to marry someone else. Only then is the divorce of the first marriage registered.
[833]

In the case of couples who have been living separately for a long period of time, people often do not exactly know whether the Moslem marriage dissolution has already taken place. Little interest is shown in this.

The unwillingness of a young man is thus accepted, even though people are not simply satisfied with this right away. But one does not accept his giving the talak /formal repudiation. -- Ed./. A case of a young man disposing of his wife against the wishes of his older kinsmen was unknown in Borongloë. Informants believed that he would disgrace his kin group by doing so.

593 Even though a couple is "good" together after the wedding festivities are over, this relationship may not be lasting in a number of cases. After a shorter or longer period of time, no more sexual relations take place in such a case. This
833

593 /203 cont./ phenomenon can likewise be caused by either
833 the wife or the husband. People frequently give some unim-
portant incident as the reason. One man stated that he no
● 586 longer wanted to have sexual relations with his wife because
593 she had become angry at him when the lombok /red pepper/
833 that he had brought for her splashed into her eye as she was
grinding it. Since then, man and wife no longer lived to-
gether. The latter would, however, at times get what she
593 needed for her /204/ daily sustenance from his warong
586 /shop/. Now and then they would speak to each other, and
sometimes she would ask him whether he would not come
and look at their child. They did not quarrel, and no
repudiation took place. When their child, who had stayed
with the woman, was about to marry, she let her husband
know, but he told her that he was leaving the consent and
arrangement of the festivities to her. Neither of them re-
married. This situation lasted until the death of the man.

In another case where a married couple had been living separated for years, the reason given was the fact that the wife wanted to continue living with her own kin group and did not want to go with the husband to his. "They live separated" (sisala pamantanganna), it is said in such cases.

A few figures may make the relationships here described a little clearer.

586 On July 1, 1948, the number of persons residing in
kampong Bontoramba who were divorced according to Moslem
[162] law and had not remarried was three, two men and one
woman. The latter had been married to one of these two
men. The wife of the other man lived elsewhere.

In addition, the number of people living in separation
586 but not (yet) divorced according to the law, amounted to
593 six, five women and one man. The latter was married to
[162] one of the five women. The husbands of the other four
women lived elsewhere. Two of these four women had been
married through silariang and were later deserted by their
husbands.

586 593 162 /204 cont./ Of the total of seven marriages in which the partners did not live together, though they were not divorced according to Moslem rites, four were childless.

Four of these seven married couples belonged to the Kapala group (525 persons) and three to the Mangenre group (90 individuals).

The number of divorces among people residing in the adat community of Borongloë (around 14,000 persons) who were recorded in the registers designed for this purpose from July 1, 1948 to July 1, 1949 amounted to seven. The percentage of divorced adult women was, according to the 1930 Census Report 1.7 per cent for the whole of Goa (1). My

1. Verslag van de Volkstelling, 1930, Part V, p. 69.

figures are too small to be expressed in percentages./205/ However, they show clearly that even in comparison with other districts, the number of divorces in this region is small.

Selection of Marriage Partners on the Basis of Kinship

582 We have already pointed out that marriages between members of the same family /nuclear family/ are forbidden.

Marriages between housemates are regarded as unfavorable (1). The marriage of a widow's son to the daughter of a

1. Unfavorable in this section is a translation of the Makassarese word, bambang, which means "warm."

627 671 682 684 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation. Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

● 586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she [626]

1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often re-married very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lalè).

588 A man and a woman who flee together generally get married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet "a socially recognized union between members of the opposite sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question. The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter, and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from her parents (1). [428]

1:Chabot--334 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

/250 cont./
Divorce Registers

114 217 586 The divorce registers are kept by the Kali of Goa for a part of the province of Goa that comprises several adat communities. /251/ This is an administrative problem which is regulated differently according to locality. During the Japanese occupation, when it was considered unsafe to travel, the Imam of Borongloë temporarily was also authorized to register divorces.

The maintenance of these four types of personal registers was poor. Registers of a few years back were in such a deplorable state that it was no longer fruitful to consult them. Before these registers can develop into a Registrar's Office, a good many improvements will first have to be made.

Land-tax Registers

114 217 651 423 In the land-tax registers each plot of land whose boundaries are very precisely indicated is to be found with the name of the person who pays the tax on it. This may be the Indonesian owner. A woman's plots are regularly recorded in the name of her husband or, if she is unmarried, in the name of her oldest brother. Younger brother's plots are frequently entered in the name of the oldest.

Registration of land is done by kampong territory. It is possible to calculate the average landownership per head and per house. It is impossible to say how many are "large landowners" -- assuming that one would want to consider someone who possesses more than five hectares as such, for instance, for by entering a part of his land in the name of his wife or children, the total ownership of one man can no longer be traced through these land registers.

The land-tax service places the taxpayer and the Indonesian owner practically on a par. Jurisprudence, however, does not simply connect with Indonesian property rights the fact that someone is entered in the land-tax registers.

[96 cont.]

M 582 583 parental [bilateral] or parentage rights system prevails. Nevertheless, the bridegroom still pays a bride price, which here, of course, has nothing of the character of a purchase price for the girl. It is divided, together with other presents, among the M 586 relatives of the bride, who, for their part, also give presents and return a part of the bride price. Divorce is rife, and divorce can be instituted by both the man and the woman. A peculiar institution is the mapoewé awo, "to divide a bamboo into two equal parts," which refers to the [97] distribution of the children between the parents with the understanding that, in the case of divorce and provided the bride price has been paid, the first child, then the third, and so on, go to the M 562 mother, the others to the father. As is always the case with eleutherogamy, the position of women is not lower than that of the men; rule by women is common in southern Celebes.

B 621 631 d. Bali. Among the Balinese the interests of the individual are primarily concentrated in territorial jurisdictional communities, the Balinese dèsa; in former times they were combined into even larger territorial units, not always to their advantage or satisfaction, for example, the former Balinese principalities which were subdivided into districts.

B 592 594 It is noteworthy that neither the family nor the household [gezin, or nuclear family] is a jurisdictional community, in view of the fact that the Balinese have a strong family sense, B [769 778] which expresses itself, for instance, in a veneration for the place from which the family traces its origin. A special temple is erected and pilgrimages are made there for giving offerings. B 631 Only the dèsa, however, the territorial region, is a jurisdictional community, and, besides that, the soebak, the Balinese polder.

B 621 Although one can thus say that the dèsa communities represent the pivot around which the interests of the individual revolve, this must be qualified to apply to the particular situation on Bali.

B [771 774] The whole life of the Balinese is very strongly influenced by his religion, an animism that has been greatly modified by

Again I had several men at the house, including a fairly high turunan radja. We went through about one half of the notes. I asked about the high percentage of unmarried women here and told them that the census reported that this was caused by the high prices. Saleh said no, the price was only f. 88 for upper classes and f. 20 for a slave. But I noted that he couldn't go to normal school because of the f. 65. But, he said, there are ways of getting around this price. For example, one might give a rice field or something in kind rather than money. He said the trouble was mainly in the higher class, as it was hard to find suitable mates. But if it is too difficult one can move down a peg for a mate, but the result then is that the children are of lower status or class. The upper class man said that Frederic̈y's [i.e., H.J. Friederic̈y, De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren--Analyst] estimate of 40 pure ana' patola in Goa was rather high. He said that now there is only one, a woman. I think he said that she is not married, but I am not sure. Saleh agreed that it is also possible to run off and thus have a lower price. He also said that there is no real marriage unless the price is paid. All the fussy details apply mainly to the upper classes. And there again I see the fault in the Dutch material. They write of the uppers mostly. There is an absolute rule, a taboo, on a lower man marrying an upper woman [hypergamy]. Punishment for this was formerly death, by drowning. They agreed that this was looked upon as incest and as being sufficient cause of disaster for all. Such results as failure of the rice crop and so forth, might be expected. They put it that the mountains would refuse to send the rain. They laughed when I read from the notes that there was little divorce here because it was so hard to replace a wife. They seemed to agree that there was very little divorce. They said there was relatively little polygamy too, but the old sea captain has two wives now and has had many more. The two never lived together in polygamy now, he said, because they fight. Formerly, they could live in the same house. The present Radja of Goa has two wives.

583 565 435 114 [684] 586 595

Literacy: Saleh said to be careful regarding percentage figures on literacy. He said that everybody learns to read (or at least most people) Makassarese, and many learn to write it. It is taught in school, and also in the homes. Thus he might teach his wife if she were illiterate. He said that in the kampong 70 per cent of the people can read Makassarese and 30 per cent can write it. The figures are lower for Arabic and Roman letters. He has some figures in the material he gave me. He said that school children learn Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic.

212

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they
585 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
831 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.
842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said 586 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that 153 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about 152 the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with [565] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated 888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose 584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi- 541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They 642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas, the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said that this will mean very little in this area except for the formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to receive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect, too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean further insecurity for his position. There are great preparations being made for this event at the present time. There will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge. This is merely a generic term. At the top are the ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here (though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng, descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depending on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 181 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 171 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 764 177 771 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb, he said that he had heard from informed men that they had formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence

● 586 595 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kampong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 881 565 343 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-

[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place